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FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1111 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KAMPALA 005838

NAIROBI ALSO FOR DART TEAM

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MASS, MOPS, EAID, RW, UG, CG

SUBJECT: RWANDA BRIEFING FROM GENERAL DALLAIRE

REF: STATE 194079

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- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY. UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE BRIEFED THE AMBASSADOR ON JULY 21 ON UNAMIR'S PLANS FOR DEPLOYMENT TO TAKE OVER FROM THE FRENCH TROOPS IN RWANDA. UNAMIR WILL NEED AT LEAST TWO BATTALIONS EQUIPPED WITH ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS IN THE ZONE WHERE THE FRENCH ARE NOW STATIONED. DALLAIRE STRONGLY ARGUED FOR THE PLACEMENT OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN SAFE ZONES INSIDE RWANDA, UNDER UNAMIR

PROTECTION, TO DRAW BACK THE REFUGEES NOW FLOODING ZAIRE. UNAMIR NEEDS ITS TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT URGENTLY TO BEGIN THEIR MASSIVE TASK OF TAKING OVER SECURITY IN ALL OF RWANDA. DALLAIRE ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF A RADIO STATION TO UNAMIR'S ATTEMPTS TO COUNTERACT THE INFLAMMATORY PROPAGANDA STILL ISSUING FROM RADIO MILLES COLLINES. END SUMMARY.

UNAMIR'S MILITARY PLAN

3. UNAMIR COMMANDER GENERAL ROMEO DALLAIRE CALLED ON THE AMBASSADOR JULY 21, ACCOMPANIED BY CAPTAIN MATTOS. POLOFF (NOTETAKER), ECONOFF, AND INTERN SAT IN ON THE MEETING. DALLAIRE SPREAD OUT HIS MAP OF RWANDA, WITH UNAMIR'S FIVE SECTORS OUTLINED. IN FOUR OF THE SECTORS, UNAMIR PLANS TO STATION A MINIMAL PRESENCE THAT CAN RESPOND QUICKLY TO LOCAL NEEDS. CONFIDENTIAL

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- 4. UNAMIR'S ZONE FOUR IS IN THE SOUTHWEST SECTOR, WHERE THE FRENCH FORCES ARE CURRENTLY DEPLOYED. DALLAIRE IS NEGOTIATING WITH THE FRENCH TO LEAVE BEHIND SOME OF THEIR EQUIPMENT AFTER THEIR PLANNED DEPARTURE ON JULY 31. UNAMIR WILL BE READY FOR THE HANDOVER AT THE END OF JULY, DALLAIRE STATED, BUT "THERE IS NO HOPE IN HELL" THAT UNAMIR CAN TAKE OVER COMPLETELY BY AUGUST 22.
- 5. IN THE FRENCH ZONE, UNAMIR PLANS A MINIMUM OF TWO MECHANIZED BATTALIONS, ONE FOR THE GHANAIANS WITH THE U.S. ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS (APC'S) PRESENTLY IN ENTEBBE. THE SECOND WILL BE THE ZIMBABWEANS OR THE ETHIOPIANS, FOR WHICH DALLAIRE REQUESTED THE SECOND SET OF 40 APC'S. DALLAIRE STRONGLY URGED THAT THE USG RECONSIDER ITS DECISION NOT TO SUPPLY THE SECOND SET OF 40 APC'S. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT WE ARE ENCOURAGING OTHER NATIONS TO CONTRIBUTE TO UNAMIR'S EQUIPMENT NEEDS BY ADOPTING A BATTALION. DALLAIRE STRESSED THE URGENCY OF UNAMIR'S NEED FOR EQUIPMENT SO THAT IT WOULD NOT ONCE AGAIN BECOME AN "EMBARRASSMENT" TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. DALLAIRE EXPRESSED A STRONG PREFERENCE FOR U.S.

APC'S, NOTING THAT EQUIVALENT BRITISH AND FRENCH EQUIPMENT WAS OLD AND INFERIOR IN QUALITY, AND UNAMIR HAS NO/NO MAINTENANCE CAPABILITY FOR IT.

6. FOR UNAMIR'S OPERATIONS IN ZONE FOUR, THEY WILL NEED "OVERWHELMING FORCE" -- HENCE, THE MECHANIZED BATTALIONS. MANY OF THE HUTU POPULATION IN THAT ZONE CONFIDENTIAL

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ARE SUSPICIOUS OF UNAMIR AND PERCEIVE IT AS A "RECCE
(RECONNAISSANCE) PARTY FOR THE RPF." UNAMIR MUST BE
READY TO REACT TO THE POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE FROM THE
REMAINING HUTU MILITIA, AS WELL AS THE TENSIONS
BETWEEN THE MILITIA, THE RETREATING RWANDAN ARMY, THE
FRENCH, AND THE RPF. UNAMIR MUST BE CLEARLY IN
CONTROL WHEN THE FRENCH LEAVE, OR THERE WILL BE A
MASS MOVEMENT OUT OF THE ZONE AFTER JULY 31, DALLAIRE
SAID.

7. IN ZONE FOUR, DALLAIRE ALSO WANTS TO HAVE A CHAPTER 7 MANDATE TO MATCH THAT OF THE FRENCH, WITH THE AUTHORITY TO RESPOND TO THREATS WITH DEADLY FORCE. WITH TWO INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCES UNDER DIFFERENT COMMANDS IN THE SAME ZONE, IT HAS TO BE CLEAR TO THE POPULATION THAT THE UNAMIR "BLUE HATS" HAVE THE SAME MANDATE AS THE FRENCH DURING THE TRANSITION. UNAMIR SHOULD ALSO TAKE OVER FULLY FROM THE FRENCH IN THAT ZONE BEFORE THE RPF COMES IN. FOR THE REST OF THE COUNTRY, UNAMIR'S CHAPTER 6 MANDATE IS SUFFICIENT FOR THEIR WORK.

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8. DALLAIRE STRESSED THE NEED TO FEED PEOPLE INSIDE RWANDA, RATHER THAN CREATING ADDITIONAL PULL FOR REFUGEES IN ZAIRE. UNAMIR COULD SUPPLY SECURITY FOR CAMPS WITHIN RWANDA, BOTH NEAR GISENYI AND IN THE SOUTHEAST, TO ATTRACT PEOPLE BACK CLOSER TO THEIR HOMES FROM THE REFUGEE CAMPS AT BENACO AND GOMA. "THERE IS NO VALUE IN FEEDING PEOPLE OUTSIDE RWANDA," DALLAIRE SAID; "IT JUST CREATES FUTURE PROBLEMS." IF

THEY ARE ALLOWED TO TAKE ROOT, THE LARGE HUTU REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE (AND TANZANIA) WILL ONLY BECOME SPAWNING GROUNDS FOR NEW GUERRILLAS. DALLAIRE WOULD LIKE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO BEGIN TO FLOW THROUGH KIGALI, ALONG WITH ASSURANCES TO THE REFUGEE POPULATIONS THAT THE AREAS WITH FOOD DISTRIBUTIONS WILL BE SECURED BY UNAMIR. DALLAIRE BELIEVES THAT IF THE AID IS THERE IN RWANDA, WITH THE SITUATION STABILIZING, THE INNOCENT PEOPLE WILL BEGIN TO COME BACK ACROSS THE BORDER. UNHCR IS WILLING TO ASSIST DISPLACED PEOPLE INSIDE RWANDA AS WELL AS REFUGEES IN THE TECHNICAL SENSE WHO HAVE CROSSED AN INTERNATIONAL BORDER. DALLAIRE PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO GOMA AND GISENYI ON SATURDAY (JULY 23) TO DISCUSS THE REFUGEE SITUATION.

9. THE AMBASSADOR RAISED THE ISSUE OF GENERAL PAUL KAGAME'S IDEA OF UNAMIR ESCORTS FOR REFUGEES RETURNING TO RWANDA (REFTEL). DALLAIRE SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS IDEA WITH KAGAME THE DAY BEFORE (JULY CONFIDENTIAL

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20) AND KAGAME IS SUPPORTIVE OF THE IDEA OF SAFE
SITES AS TRANSIT CAMPS FOR PEOPLE RETURNING TO
RWANDA. DALLAIRE SAID UNAMIR COULD PATROL THE ROUTES
AND BE VISIBLE AT CHECKPOINTS TO HELP REASSURE THE
RETURNEES OF THEIR SAFETY. DALLAIRE SAID THERE
SHOULD BEGIN TO BE CIVILIAN POLICE PUT IN PLACE AS
WELL AS A RESTRUCTURING OF THE GENDARMERIE TO ASSURE
CIVIL ORDER.

10. THE U.N. SHOULD ALSO SET UP A RADIO STATION, DALLAIRE INSISTED. THE INFAMOUS AND INFLAMATORY MILLES COLLINES STATION IS STILL BROADCASTING FROM THE FRENCH ZONE, ALTHOUGH ITS TRANSMISSIONS ARE BECOMING WEAKER AND MORE INFREQUENT. UNAMIR HAS BEGUN TO BUY TIME ON THE "NEW RADIO RWANDA" TO BEGIN TO CONVINCE PEOPLE TO RETURN TO THE SAFE AREAS IN RWANDA. UNAMIR WOULD LIKE TO SET UP ITS OWN STATION IN GIKONGORO TO BEGIN BROADCASTING REASSURANCE TO THE RWANDAN POPULATION TO COUNTERACT THE NEGATIVE PROPAGANDA OF RADIO MILLES COLLINES. RWANDANS LIVE BY THE RADIO, DALLAIRE SAID; IT IS THE BEST MEANS TO REACH THEM.

WHAT UNAMIR NEEDS

11. DALLAIRE IS DISGUSTED WITH THE SLOW PACE OF THE U.N. AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN SUPPLYING THE EQUIPMENT UNAMIR NEEDS TO TAKE OVER FROM THE FRENCH CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KAMPAL 05838 02 OF 03 221302Z IN RWANDA. UNAMIR IS CURRENTLY TRAINING A BATTALION IN KIGALI TO DRIVE AND MAINTAIN THE APC'S, WITH A STOCK OF ONLY TEN APC'S AND NO MAINTENANCE. HE NEEDS THE 50 U.S. SUPPLIED APC'S THAT ARE WAITING IN ENTEBBE FOR SHIPMENT TO KIGALI; THE U.N. HAS NOT YET SIGNED A TRANSPORT CONTRACT. DALLAIRE ALSO NEEDS APC'S AND EQUIPMENT FOR THE SECOND BATTALION. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTION ON MAINTENANCE AND TRAINING, DALLAIRE SAID UNAMIR SIGNED A CONTRACT ON JULY 21 WITH BROWN AND ROOT FOR FIRST TO THIRD LINE MAINTENANCE OF THE APC'S. UNAMIR'S FIELD TRAINING FOR THE GHANAIANS ON THE APC'S SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT, WITH BROWN AND ROOT TO MAINTAIN THE VEHICLES.

12. THE TRAINING, HOWEVER, CREATES A DELAY EVEN AFTER THE BATTALIONS AND VEHICLES ARRIVE IN KIGALI. DALLAIRE SAID IN THE CURRENT SITUATION, UNAMIR HAS NO ASSETS TO DO THE JOB, DESPITE THE RAPIDLY APPROACHING DEADLINE ON FRENCH WITHDRAWAL. DALLAIRE COMPLAINED THAT HE DOES NOT EVEN HAVE ENOUGH FOOD STOCKS FOR HIS TROOPS AT THE MOMENT, YET THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS SPENDING MILLIONS ON RELIEF FLIGHTS TO GOMA.

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DALLAIRE IS TRYING TO CONVINCE THE FRENCH TO LEAVE
BEHIND THEIR FOOD, WATER, AND 4X4 TRUCKS MOUNTED WITH
50 CALIBRE MACHINE GUNS. IT IS CHEAPER TO ABANDON
THESE THAN TO SHIP THEM BACK TO FRANCE, HE SAID. AT
THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, NOBODY IS VOLUNTEERING TO EQUIP
UNAMIR QUICKLY.

THE FRENCH

13. DALLAIRE, IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, SAID HE BELIEVED THE FRENCH WERE COMMITTED TO PULLING OUT OF RWANDA AS SCHEDULED. THEY HAD BEEN BURNED BY THEIR PAST POLICIES IN RWANDA AND WERE TRYING TO AVOID ANY FURTHER DAMAGE. DALLAIRE SAID HE THOUGHT THE FRENCH HAD UNDERESTIMATED KAGAME AND THE RPF. THE RPF WAS NOT GOING TO BE SUCKERED INTO FIGHTING THE FRENCH. BUT IT WAS EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THE RPF WAS PREPARED AND WILLING TO FIGHT THE FRENCH IF NECESSARY. DALLAIRE WAS ALSO HARSHLY CRITICAL OF EARLY FRENCH ACTIONS IN RWANDA AND NOTED THAT THE FRENCH WERE BUSY WORKING OUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR SOME OF RWANDA'S FORMER LEADERS TO OBTAIN EXILE IN SENEGAL AND OTHER FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN STATES. HE NOTED THE PROSPECT FOR FRENCH MISCHIEF FROM ZAIRE IF THE RWANDAN REFUGEES WERE NOT ENCOURAGED TO RETURN HOME QUICKLY AND THE LARGE HUTU REFUGEE CAMPS WERE NOT DISPERSED.

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14. AS HE ALWAYS DOES, DALLAIRE PRESENTED A CLEAR, LOGICAL AND COMPELLING ARGUMENT FOR THE URGENCY OF SUPPORTING UNAMIR'S ESSENTIAL WORK IN RWANDA, AND FOR THE NEED TO USE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO BRING THE REFUGEES BACK HOME TO RWANDA. THE U.N. AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD RALLY TO SUPPORT UNAMIR AND DALLAIRE, ONE OF THE FEW HEROES IN THE RWANDAN DISASTER. END COMMENT.

15. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CARSON

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